1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

597 556 made by a man who was for a long time a highly successful trader on the mainland of China. The only case of male adoptions by families which we know to have been poor were cases in which the family did not have to buy the child. These included the one case in which an agnate gave a boy in adoption to a village family, and one other in which a sim-pûa was allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give her first born child to her foster brother whom she was to have married.

597 593 [602] Unlike Chinese in many other parts of the country, the people of Hsiachichou do not insist that an adopted son be of the same agnatic line as his foster parents. The attitude of people here is that "once you adopt a child he is your own no matter whom you adopt him from. It doesn't matter whether he is of the same blood or not." But while the people of Hsiachichou do not worry about the pedigree of a child bought from a stranger, they do worry very much about the child's loyalty to his foster parents. The child's parents may later attempt to persuade him to return to his natal family, or the child may himself discover the fact of his adoption and want to return to his parents. As an example of the dangers involved in buying a child our village informants often cited the current difficulties of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-ieng. After having worked for a number of years as a prostitute in Taipei and Wanhua, Ong Chun-ieng adopted a male child whom she sent to live with her own foster mother in Hsiachichou. Later Ong Chun-ieng was arrested and imprisoned for using narcotics, and the boy became part of a gang "living in air raid shelters and making their living by stealing."

[276] [689]

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
• 276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a [redacted] able to
[757] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

852 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
832 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

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Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky
[562] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls
[178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al-
[270] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for • [276] males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the 562 831 ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and 661 teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 889 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will